

missile defense funding by 54 percent from \$39 billion to \$18 billion; reaffirmed commitment to ABM Treaty, saying any defense must be "treaty-compliant."

1994: State Department official called the ABM treaty "sacred text," saying "arms control has more to offer our national security than do more weapons systems. We look first to arms control and second . . . to defenses;" declared Theater High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD) non-treaty compliant; placed self-imposed limits on THAAD testing to keep it "treaty-compliant."

1995: Placed self-imposed limits on Navy Upper Tier system to keep it "treaty compliant;" politicized National Intelligence Estimate (NIE) to downplay growing missile threat; vetoed Defense Authorization bill requiring missile defense deployment by 2003.

1996: Cut funding and slowed development of THAAD and Navy Theater-Wide systems, in defiance of the law—the Defense Authorization bill—requiring accelerated development; announced fraudulent "3-plus-3" program for national missile defense: three years to develop, plus three years to deploy. (Later changed to "5 plus 3," then "7 plus 3," then dropped the "plus 3"); reaffirmed ABM Treaty as the "cornerstone of strategic stability;" opposed and helped kill legislation calling for NMD deployment by 2003.

1997: signed ABM Treaty agreements with Russia which, if ratified by the Senate, would: (1) reaffirm the validity of the ABM Treaty banning effective national missile defense; (2) sharply limit the effectiveness of theater defense systems; and (3) ban space-based missile defenses.

Clinton never submitted these for ratification, knowing they would fail to get the needed 67 votes for ratification.

1998: opposed and helped kill legislation calling for NMD deployment "as soon as technologically possible;" disputed the Rumsfeld Commission's assessment of the growing missile threat, arguing that there was no need to accelerate missile defense deployment; on August 24, Joint Chiefs Chairman Henry Shelton wrote to me affirming his assurance that U.S. intelligence would detect at least three years' warning of any new rogue state ICBM threat; on August 31, one week later, North Korea surprised U.S. intelligence by testing a three-stage Taepo-Dong I missile with intercontinental range, demonstrating critical staging technology and rudimentary ICBM capability.

1999: delayed by at least two years the Space Based Infrared System (SBIRS) satellites designed to detect and track missile launches necessary to coordinate with any effective national missile defense system; emasculated the Missile Defense Act of 1999—passed by veto-proof majorities in

both houses—calling for deployment "as soon as technologically possible." In signing the bill into law, Clinton outrageously interpreted it to mean that no deployment decision had been made and that therefore he would make no change in his go-slow missile defense policy.

2000: cut funding for the Airborne Laser (ABL) program by 52 percent over 5-year period, but the cuts were later reversed by Congress; allowed Russia to veto U.S. missile defense plans by making NMD dependent on Russia's agreement to modify the ABM Treaty, but Russia would never agree; postponed the administration's long-awaited NMD deployment decision from June to September and then decided to defer any decision indefinitely to the next administration, insuring that the entire eight years of the Clinton presidency would pass without a commitment to deploy national missile defense.

The net result of this abysmal record is that America continues to remain completely vulnerable to missile attack, despite growing threats. In the 8 years of the Clinton administration, there was never a commitment to deploy national missile defense. Instead, there was a misguided ideological dedication to preserving the ABM Treaty, whose very purpose was to prohibit effective missile defense. In essence, the Clinton vision was exactly opposite of the Reagan vision.

Today, the threat grows. Proliferation of missile and weapons technology around the world proceeds at an accelerated pace. Under Clinton, weapons inspectors were kicked out of Iraq; Russia greatly increased its military assistance to China; China was caught stealing U.S. nuclear secrets; U.S. companies were given a green light to help improve the accuracy and reliability of China's nuclear missiles; China transferred missile and weapons technology to North Korea, Iran, Iraq and others; China threatened to absorb Taiwan; and China threatened to attack the United States with nuclear missiles.

The Rumsfeld Commission determined that new ICBM threats could emerge in the future "with little or no warning." The Cox Commission determined that Clinton covered up or presided over some of the most serious security breaches in U.S. history, affecting critical national secrets about virtually every weapon in our nuclear arsenal and numerous military-related high technologies.

The case for missile defense is more compelling today than it has ever been. With a new President determined to set a new course, or rather to set us back to the course first articulated by President Reagan, there is reason for hope and optimism.

I urge President Bush to move quickly in forging a national commitment to the deployment of a robust global mis-

sile defense system capable of defending all 50 States, our allies and our forward deployed troops around the world. We should appropriate the necessary budgets. We should exploit all options and technologies. We should seriously consider an initial deployment at sea, using our proven Aegis ships and complementing it with important ground and spaced based systems.

In consultation with our allies, and while maintaining our nuclear deterrent, we should break free of the constraints of the outdated ABM Treaty and begin to fashion a security regime based, as Reagan said, on our ability "to save lives rather to avenge them." This is the legacy America deserves, consistent with Reagan's vision of courage, morality and security—a vision I know is shared by President George W. Bush.

#### SCORECARD OF HATRED

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, in just the last few weeks, two California high schools a few miles apart, suffered the same terrible fate when troubled students opened fire on both classmates and teachers. These remind of us of the many acts of gun violence committed by young people in American schools since the attack at Columbine High School almost 2 years ago. In last week's Time magazine, an article called "Scorecard of Hatred," lists in detail the many varied plans of copycat attacks since Columbine, including those planned by teenagers who, thankfully, failed in their attempts. Each of the more than 20 different attempts by young people to "pull a Columbine," the phrase that some teenagers now use to describe these acts of violence, is disturbing in its own right. As a whole, these acts are beginning to become an epidemic.

I often wonder why these acts of school violence are so uniquely American. The warning signs most commonly associated with teens who engage in school shootings—disturbing patterns of behavior, depression, increased fascination with violence, sometimes inappropriate living conditions—are no doubt experienced by teens in other countries. Yet, even though the gun shots at Columbine were witnessed by teens across the world, teens in other countries are not routinely committing terrible acts of school violence.

Last May, on the 1-year anniversary of the Columbine shootings, there was one act of copycat violence in Ottawa in the province of Ontario, Canada. According to an article in the Ottawa Citizen, a 15-year-old boy, who was teased mercilessly by his classmates, became obsessed with the Columbine school massacre and the violent perpetrators of the tragic event. He posted pictures of the young men in his lockers and began counting down the days until the

anniversary. But when the moment came, and the young boy in Canada attempted to carry out his copycat crime, instead of brandishing an arsenal of firearms, he brandished a kitchen knife. Instead of 15 dead and countless more injured, 5 people were stabbed, none with any life-threatening injuries.

In Littleton, CO and Ottawa, Canada, the circumstances were similar, but the outcomes were substantially different. It seems that the one crucial difference in this and other such incidences is not religion or music, entertainment, or peer influence, it is access to guns. In most of these school shootings in the United States, our young people have relatively easy access to guns. Here are some of the examples used in the Time magazine article: two 8th graders in California were found with a military-sniper rifle, a handgun, and 1500 rounds of ammunition; a 15-year-old in Georgia gained access his stepfather's rifle; a 7th grader from Oklahoma took his father's semiautomatic handgun; a 6-year-old in Michigan discovered a semiautomatic handgun; a 17-year-old in California amassed an arsenal of 15 guns as well as knives and ammunition; a 13-year-old in Florida picked up a semiautomatic handgun.

Mr. President, the lists goes on and on. We must do something to limit our youth's easy access to guns and end the epidemic of gun violence in our Nation's schools and community places.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to print in the RECORD the Time magazine article, Scorecard of Hatred.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From Time magazine, Mar. 19, 2001]

#### SCORECARD OF HATRED

(By Amanda Bowen)

MAY 13, 1999—FOILED

#### Port Huron, Mich.

Their plan, police said, was to outdo Columbine perpetrators Eric Harris and Dylan Klebold by arming themselves, forcing the principal of Holland Woods Middle School to call an assembly and then killing teachers, classmates and themselves. Jedaiah (David) Zinzo and Justin Schnepf, both 14, made a list of 154 targets, stole a building plan from the school custodian's office and plotted to use one gun to steal more. Classmates caught wind of the plot and reported it to the assistant principal. Zinzo and Schnepf were sentenced to four years' probation.

MAY 19, 1999—FOILED

#### Anaheim, Calif.

When police searched the homes of two eighth-graders at South Junior High, they found two bombs, bombmaking materials, a military-surplus rifle, a Ruger Blackhawk .45-cal. handgun, 1,500 rounds of ammunition and Nazi paraphernalia. They were tipped off by a student who heard that the boys, whose names were not released, were threatening to blow up the school.

#### Conyers, Ga.

Thomas Solomon Jr., 15, aimed low with his stepfather's .22 rifle and wounded six fellow students at Heritage High School.

**Warning Signs.**—Solomon told classmates he would "blow up this classroom" and had no reason to live. He was being treated for depression and was teased by a popular sports player whom Solomon believed was the object of his girlfriend's affections.

AUG. 24, 1999—FOILED

#### Northeast Florida

Two teenagers were charged with conspiracy to commit second-degree murder after a teacher saw drawings, one of which depicted a bloody knife, a shotgun and an assault weapon. The teens allegedly described themselves as Satan worshippers and claimed they were planning to leave a deadlier trail than the one at Columbine. Charges were dropped for lack of evidence, and the boys were released from house arrest.

OCT. 28, 1999—FOILED

#### Cleveland, Ohio

Adam Gruber, 14, and John Borowski, Benjamin Balducci and Andy Napier, all 15, were white students planning a rampage at their mostly black school. It was to end, one of the boys' friends said, in a suicidal shoot-out with police, with one survivor to "bask in the glory." Officials were tipped off to the plot by another student's mother.

OCT. 24, 2000

#### Glendale, Ariz.

Sean Botkin dressed in camouflage, went to his old school, entered a math class and with a 9-mm handgun held hostage 32 former classmates and a teacher, police say. After an hour, the 14-year-old was persuaded to surrender.

**WARNING SIGNS.**—Botkin said in a television interview last month that he was picked on, hated school, had a troubled family life and couldn't recall ever being truly happy. "Using a gun would get the attention more than just walking into school and saying, 'I need help' or something," he said.

JAN. 10, 2001

#### Ornard, Calif.

Richard Lopez, 17, had a history of mental illness, and police apparently believe he "had his mind made up to be killed by a police officer" when he marched onto the grounds of his old school, Hueneme High, took a girl hostage and held a gun to her head. Within five minutes of SWAT officers' arriving, he was shot dead. Lopez's sister said her brother had wanted to commit suicide, but his Catholic faith forbade it.

**WARNING SIGNS.**—Family members said Lopez had been in and out of juvenile facilities and attempted suicide three times. "He needed help, and I cried out for it," his grandmother said.

JAN. 29, 2001—FOILED

#### Cupertino, Calif.

The Columbine gunmen were "the only thing that's real," according to De Anza College sophomore Al Joseph DeGuzman, 19. He allegedly planned to attack the school with guns and explosive devices. The day before, however, he apparently photographed himself with his arsenal and took the film for developing. The drugstore clerk alerted police.

FEB. 5, 2001—FOILED

#### Hoyt, Kans.

Police were alerted to Richard B. Bradley Jr., 18, Jason L. Moss, 17, and James R.

Lopez, 16, by an anonymous hot-line tip. A search of their homes revealed bombmaking material, school floor plans, a rifle, ammunition and white supremacist drawings, police said. They also reportedly found three black trench coats similar to those worn by the Columbine gunmen.

FEB. 7, 2001—FOILED

#### Fort Collins, Colo.

Just 66 miles from Littleton, Chad Meiniger, 15, and Alexander Vukodinovich and Scott Parent, both 14, were allegedly hatching an elaborate plan to "redo Columbine." Police were tipped off by two female classmates of the boys, who said they had overheard them plotting. Officers say they found a weapons cache, ammunition and sketches of the school.

NOV. 19, 1999

#### Deming, N.M.

Victor Cordova Jr., 12, fired one shot into the lobby of Deming Middle School and hit Araceli Tena, 13, in the back of the head. She died the next day.

**WARNING SIGNS.**—Cordova reportedly boasted the day before the shooting that he would "make history blasting this school," but no adults were told. Since losing his mother to cancer, Cordova was reportedly suicidal.

DEC. 6, 1999

#### Fort Gibson, Okla.

Seventh-grader Seth Trickey was a religious, straight-A student. But then, police say, he came to school, stood under a tree, pulled out his father's 9-mm semiautomatic handgun and fired at least 15 rounds into a group of classmates. Four were wounded.

**WARNING SIGNS.**—A juvenile court heard that Trickey was receiving psychological counseling and was deeply influenced by the Columbine shootings. Psychologists said he was obsessed by the military, in particular General George S. Patton, and the shootings may have been Trickey's way of proving he could hold his own in battle.

FEB. 29, 2000

#### Mount Morris Township, Mich.

A six-year-old boy, whose identity has not been released, left the crack house where he lived and went to school at Theo J. Buell Elementary. He called out to fellow first-grader Kayla Rolland, left, "I don't like you!" "So?" she said. The boy swung around and shot her with the loaded .32 semiautomatic handgun he had taken from home. Kayla died soon afterward.

**WARNING SIGNS.**—The boy was reportedly made to stay after school nearly every day for violent behavior, attacking other children and cursing. His hellish home life—mother a drug addict, father in prison—had been the subject of complaints to police, but there was no response. On the day of the shooting, another student reported the boy was carrying a knife. It was confiscated, but he was not searched for other weapons.

MAY 18, 2000—FOILED

#### Millbrae, Calif.

A 17-year-old senior at Mills High school, whose name has not been released, was arrested after another student reported being threatened with a gun. Police said they found an arsenal of 15 guns and rifles, knives and ammunition at the boy's home, all apparently belonging to his father. In the eight months before his arrest, the boy had allegedly threatened seven other friends with guns and bragged he was going to "do a Columbine" at school. The victims said they were too scared to report the threats.

MAY 26, 2000

*Lake Worth, Fla.*

Nathaniel Brazill, 13, was sent home for throwing water balloons. Police say he returned with a .25-cal. semiautomatic handgun, went into an English class and shot and killed teacher Barry Grunow, 35.

**WARNING SIGNS.**—Brazill had apparently shown others the gun and talked about hit lists. In his bedroom, police say they found a letter he had written saying, "I think I might commit suicide."

FEB. 11, 2001—FOILED

*Palm Harbor, Fla.*

Scott McClain, a 14-year-old eighth-grader, reportedly wrote a detailed e-mail to at least one friend describing his plans to make a bomb and possibly target a specific teacher at Palm Harbor Middle School. The friend's mother alerted sheriff's deputies, who said they found a partly assembled bomb in McClain's bedroom that would have had a "kill radius" of 15 ft.

FEB. 14, 2001—FOILED

*Elmira, N.Y.*

Jeremy Getman, an 18-year-old senior, passed a disturbing note to a friend, who alerted authorities. A police officer found Getman in Southside High School's cafeteria, reportedly with a .22-cal. Ruger semiautomatic and a duffel bag containing 18 bombs and a sawed-off shotgun. An additional eight bombs were allegedly found in his home.

MARCH 5, 2001

*Santee, Calif.*

Charles Andrew Williams, 15, allegedly opened fire from a bathroom at Santana High, killing two and wounding 13.

**WARNING SIGNS.**—Williams was bullied, a pot smoker, trying to fit in. He told at least a dozen people, including one adult that there would be a shoot-out. When he later said he was joking, they believed him.

MARCH 7, 2001

*Williamsport, Pa.*

Elizabeth Catherine Bush, 14, was threatened and teased mercilessly at her old school in Jersey Shore and transferred last spring to Bishop Neumann, a small Roman Catholic school. There she allegedly took her father's revolver into the cafeteria and shot Kimberley Marchese in the shoulder.

**WARNING SIGNS.**—Bush was reportedly still being teased and was depressed. As she fired the gun, she allegedly said, "No one thought I would go through with this." It is unclear whether she had told anyone of her intentions.

MARCH 7, 2001—FOILED

*Twentynine Palms, Calif.*

Cori Aragon, left, with her mother, was one of 16 students at Monument High School in the Mojave Desert to discover that their names were allegedly on the hit list of two 17-year-old boys arrested on suspicion of conspiracy to commit murder and civil rights violations. Tipped off by a female student who overheard the boys' plans, police said they found a rifle in one home, the list in the other. The boys' names were not released. This was the most serious case to follow the Santee shootings. But 14 other California children were either arrested or under observation for making threats. Around the U.S., dozens more copycat threats were reported.

#### OFFERING OF AMENDMENTS TO SENATE RULES

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, pursuant to the Senate Rules, I am giv-

ing notice that I plan to offer amendments to the Senate rules that would (a) require Senators to report allegations of corruption to the Select Committee on Ethics, and (b) make the Senate rules applicable to an individual after he or she is officially and legally certified as the winner of the Senate election in his or her state.

#### THE VERY BAD DEBT BOXSCORE

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, at the close of business yesterday, Thursday, March 22, 2001, the Federal debt stood at \$5,732,049,780,656.46. Five trillion, seven hundred thirty-two billion, forty-nine million, seven hundred eighty thousand, six hundred fifty-six dollars and forty-six cents.

One year ago, March 22, 2000, the Federal debt stood at \$5,727,734,000,000. Five trillion, seven hundred twenty-seven billion, seven hundred thirty-four million.

Five years ago, March 22, 1996, the Federal debt stood at \$5,062,405,000,000. Five trillion, sixty-two billion, four hundred five million.

Ten years ago, March 22, 1991, the Federal debt stood at \$3,449,090,000,000. Three trillion, four hundred forty-nine billion, ninety million.

Twenty-five years ago, March 22, 1976, the Federal debt stood at \$599,264,000,000. Five hundred ninety-nine billion, two hundred sixty-four million, which reflects a debt increase of more than \$5 trillion—\$5,132,785,780,656.46. Five trillion, one hundred thirty-two billion, seven hundred eighty-five million, seven hundred eighty thousand, six hundred fifty-six dollars and forty-six cents, during the past 25 years.

#### ADDITIONAL STATEMENTS

##### SCHOOL VIOLENCE

• Mr. HUTCHINSON. Mr. President, tomorrow, March 24, is the third anniversary of the tragic episode of school violence which occurred at Westside Middle School in Jonesboro, AR. I want the families and friends of Natalie Brooks, Paige Ann Herring, Stephanie Johnson, Britthney Varner, and Shannon Wright to know that I will never forget their terrible loss and that my heart continues to ache for and with them. They are, and will continue to be, in my thoughts and prayers as I proceed with my efforts to make our schools the safe havens of learning that they should and must be.●

##### HONORING GODFREY "BUDGE" SPERLING

• Mr. LIEBERMAN. I rise today to congratulate Godfrey "Budge" Sperling, a man who has spent the last 35 years satisfying the appetites of re-

porters hungry for both a good meal and a good story. On more than 3,100 mornings, Budge has invited members of the Washington press corps to join him for breakfast and conversation with political news makers. He has hosted everyone from Members of Congress to presidential nominees to sitting presidents, as well as luminaries such as the Dalai Lama. Along the way, the Sperling Breakfasts have become more than an informal gathering of journalists and news makers, they have become a prominent part of Washington's political culture. In fact, they have become a brand name.

Today, I would like to take a few moments to pay tribute to this institution by sharing with my colleagues a little bit about its founder. Budge Sperling was born in Long Beach, California, in 1915, but grew up in Urbana, Illinois. In 1937 he graduated from the University of Illinois with a degree in Journalism. He continued his studies at the University of Oklahoma, receiving a law degree in 1940.

In 1946, after serving for five years in the United States Air Force during World War II, Budge joined the staff of the Christian Science Monitor, working his way through a variety of national bureaus until he and his breakfast became a brand name. Throughout a career that has spanned over 50 years, Budge has served as Chief of the Monitor's Midwest Bureau, New York Bureau, and Washington Bureau. He currently serves as the Monitor's Senior Washington Columnist.

The Sperling breakfasts began, ironically, over lunch. On February 8, 1966, Budge decided to invite some of his colleagues to join him for a midday meal at the National Press Club with Charles H. Percy, the eventual senator from Illinois, whom he had met on the campaign trail. After the successful meeting, Budge was urged by his fellow reporters to host another gathering. Budge invited New York Mayor John Lindsay, but was unable to book a room at the National Press Club for lunch. He decided to have the meeting over breakfast instead, and a tradition was born.

Since that time, the Sperling Breakfast, or "Breakfast with Godfrey," as it has been known, has served as the source of many news stories. One of the most well-known breakfasts occurred when Budge invited Senator Robert F. Kennedy to speak the day after the New Hampshire primary in 1968. While Kennedy was addressing the assembled reporters, news of the Tet offensive in Vietnam broke and Kennedy, who had repeatedly denied presidential aspirations, struggled visibly to reconcile this new information with his denials. As Budge recently recalled that morning he said, "we felt we'd seen history in the making."

This is only one example of the many memorable breakfasts Budge has